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FROM MY STANDPOINT

John Haynes Holmes

IT IS AN IMPRESSIVE THING to come into the presence of a really great man and see how noble the soul may be. I had this experience in reading Jawaharlal Nehru's *The Discovery of India,* one of three masterpieces written by Nehru while a prisoner in English jails. The first of these books, *Glimpses of World History,* "was written in different prisons in India during three years between October 1930 and August 1933." The second, his autobiography, *Toward Freedom,* "was written entirely in prison, except for the postscript and certain minor changes, from June 1934 to February 1935." The third, just mentioned above, was the product of Nehru's latest imprisonment, from August 1942 to September 1944.

I don't know but what we should feel a certain strange gratitude to Britain for imprisoning this Indian in his own country, for it is doubtful if otherwise these books would ever have been composed by so busy and devoted a man. He tells us in his preface that his autobiography was written primarily "to occupy myself with a definite task, so necessary in the long solitudes of jail life." Now that he will never be imprisoned again, will he ever write again?

I

The Discovery of India, like its two predecessors, is a remarkable achievement. There are many passages which I should like to quote, but one only may have my attention at this time. I refer to the paragraphs on pages 286-287, where Nehru is speaking of the British conquest and occupation of India, the bitterest chapter of his nation's life.

"England came to India," he writes. "When Queen Elizabeth gave a charter to the East India Company in 1660, Shakespeare was alive and writing. In 1611 the authorized English edition of the Bible was issued; in 1608 Milton was born. There followed Hampden and Cromwell and the political revolution. In 1660 the Royal Society of England, which was to advance the cause of science so much, was organized. A hundred years later, in 1760, the flying shuttle was invented, and there followed in quick succession the spinning jenny, the steam engine, and the power loom.

"Which of two Englands came to India? The England of Shakespeare and Milton, of noble speech and writing and brave deeds, of political revolution and the struggle for freedom, of science and technical progress, or the England of the savage penal code and brutal behavior, of entrenched feudalism and reaction? . . . for there were two Englands, just as in every country there are two aspects of national character and civilization. . . .

"The two Englands live side by side, influencing each other, and cannot be separated; nor could one of them come to India forgetting completely the other. Yet in every major action one plays the leading role, dominating the other, and it was inevitable that the wrong England should play that role in India and should come in contact with and encourage the wrong India in the process."

II

Now, ponder these words! They were written by a great man of India who sees his native land occupied and exploited by a foreign power which rules by sheer might of arms. The English in India have as definite and arrogant a race-superiority complex as ever the Nazis had in Europe. All his life Nehru has seen his own countrymen degraded to the inferior status of outcasts. "Railway carriages, station retiring rooms, benches in parks, are marked 'For Europeans Only' . . . a humiliating and exasperating reminder of our enslaved condition" (*The Discovery of India,* page 294). In recent years the Indians have dreamed of independence—the recovery of that freedom which India enjoyed for centuries before Britain was anything more than a rude wilderness. Their reward has been repression, arrest, imprisonment. In his *Toward Freedom,* Nehru describes in detail his various jail experiences. And it is this man who can extol England, and regret that it was the wrong instead of the right England that came to India.

Here is an objectivity of mind which is extraordinary. Think of being able to see the good and great in England at the very time when English tyranny is crushing out your life! I have heard an Englishman make this distinction. "Never confuse Britain and England, the land of Curzon and Rhodes and the land of Cobden and Bright," said the London preacher, Walter Walsh, to me years ago. But an Indian shut off from his native air by British prison walls, denied his freedom by British chains—this is something else again. What a mind that can thus see truth in darkness and oppression!

But there is more than mental objectivity in this attitude. There is a well nobility of soul. What we hav long since learned to find in Gandh is here in Nehru also: that elevatio of spirit on which prejudice, distrus revenge, and hate cannot flourish, c even exist. In such a lofty atmos phere only understanding, fair pla justice, and compassion can survive Its farthest extension compasses tha sublime injunction of Jesus, "lov your enemies." Nehru has not a ways been thus serene. He confesse at times to anger. But then he "sof tened," and remembered "how wron it was to judge a whole people i this way. I thought also of the terr ble experiences that the English pec ple have gone through in this wa . . . of the loss of so many of thei loved ones" (*The Discovery of Indi* page 505). This is the testimony of noble soul. Nehru is as good as he i great.

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FELLOWSHIP

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Subheads

Coals to Newcastle

The magazine *Vogue,* in its column "People Are Talking About," says they're talking about "the soundness of universal military training not only as training for an emergent future but as a reminder at the hearts of Americans that this is an uneasy world."

A Mighty Fortress

The General Tire and Rubber Company took a full-page advertisement in a recent Sunday *New York Times* to urge people to listen to the radio program *The Greatest Story Ever Told,* a religious broadcast sponsored by the Goodyear Tire and Rubber Company. After only a little complacent preening over such an unusual act, the ad remarked sharply that it was only by listening to such programs and getting back to religion that America could become strong enough to resist communism.

This is only the most recent in a growing series of testimonials to religion by Very Important People, most of whom seem to have at least half their attention focussed east of the Oder. Henry Luce has thrown his weight heavily on the side of religion and against "materialistic philosophies," though without reducing *Life's* advertising rates. The president of the Yale and Towne Manufacturing Company took enough time from making locks to speak strongly in support of the "Truman Doctrine," explaining that "on us . . . depends the issue . . . of a God-loving or a Godless world. . . ." And various other figures, not ordinarily identified with articulate religion so much as with large industrial enterprises, have made comments startlingly similar.

We doubt whether this is anything over which pacifists and religionists ought to spring joyously in the air. We feel strongly about materialism, too, but this spectacle of America's tycoons snapping at the hand that continues to stuff folding money into their jeans makes us uneasy. The trouble is, of course, that they're not. Materialism, in the vocabulary of this coterie of evangelists, is synonymous with communism, and "free enterprise" comes close to being Holy Writ. The whole thing sounds uncomfortably like the preliminary briefing for a holy war.

Un-American

Reuben S. Nathan, writing in the *Antioch Review,* says that international circulation of a half-dozen American magazines, as now planned, may hurt America's reputation abroad, since Europeans "look for meaning" before "entertainment." Moreover, since foreigners are not accustomed to "American habits of overstatement"—in popular articles about new medicines, for example—they may regard an exaggerated statement about a new drug as a lie "and the country where the lie originated a country of cheats." Just another indication of how unreasonable foreigners are!

Marshall in Wonderland

The recent career of General Marshall has aspects reminiscent of Lewis Carroll's wonderful land of topsy-turvy. Returning from a completely unsuccessful months-long attempt to bring peace to China, he was appointed Secretary of State. Returning from an equally fruitless trip to Moscow, he was greeted warmly by the President, who said, "I am very well pleased with what you have been doing."

Hi-Yo Silver!

Mr. Truman, the indefatigable press announces, prefers newsreels and "Westerns" of the shoot-'em-up variety for his movie fare. We could probably have gotten along quite comfortably without this morsel of Trumania, but now that it's out in the open we can't help remarking that it sheds some light on the country's foreign policy. Westerns are the ultimate in the Hollywood formula: good and evil are sharply divided and can never be confused; all problems resolve themselves at last into a satisfyingly simple gun-battle in which the man with the fastest draw wins; and the hero—the "good guy"—always has the fastest draw. Parenthetically, any foreigners who stray into the picture are comic characters, no score of whom would be a match for any reasonably able-bodied American.

It's a little frightening, when you come right down

to it, because it's unlikely that Russia is reading from the same script!

Here and There with the Warriors

An investigation in Hiroshima begun last November showed 53 of 124 men examined had been made sterile by the atomic bomb. . . .

In April more than 20 of the Bikini ships were still so radioactive they could not be manned. Navy scientists had searched intensively for nine months for a sufficiently powerful decontaminating agent, but without success. . . .

Atom workers in Britain have demanded an investigation into cases of sexual impotence that have developed among them. . . .

President Truman has turned over 271 Navy ships to the Chinese government. . . .

Admiral Nimitz reassured Congress that the country's military leaders are making "substantial progress" in their plans for fighting the next war. . . .

Panama has refused to adhere to the Italian peace treaty; says it's too harsh. . . .

And the Los Angeles City Council has been shopping for an atomic-fission expert for municipal protection purposes. Salary: $464 per month.

Vested Interest Note

Ex-GI recipients of checks for unused furlough time found enclosed with them a pink slip with the caution: "This is Army Week. Remember: The security of our nation depends on the maintenance of an Armed Force of sufficient size to repel any invader."

Slogan

Promotion work for a good fight gets more and more difficult, what with the demands of total war on the lives, customs, and beliefs of people, but nobody can say the men of the Pentagon don't try. On April 8 the papers carried the story of a "grim" new War Department release warning that this country will be at a tremendous disadvantage *after* world atomic control has been established. It seems that then other countries will have the atomic "know-how," but will not be hindered in declaring aggressive war by a democratic form of government.

The suggestion that accompanied this warning was that America should "cultivate allies" to help "absorb" the atomic attacks. (This means, if we translate the technical verbiage correctly, that we should inveigle an indeterminate number of other countries into alliances so that, if our foreign policy leads to war, the attacker will have to divide his stockpile of guided missiles between their cities and ours.)

This struck us as a wishy-washy sort of suggestion, unworthy of the Pentagon's publicity geniuses, and we suspect the War Department thought so too, because on May 2 the papers announced a plan of the Army-Navy Munitions Board to give what the papers called "wide power" to the President when a "cloud to peace" appears on the horizon. (Under such a plan, the Board pointed out, the President could have begun mobilization of the country's resources in 1938, at the time of Munich.)

This is much more realistic than the "allies" suggestion, since what it does is to eliminate the elemen of democracy that created the stumbling-block. Th one remaining problem is to find a good slogan f the next war, since heretofore the defense of de mocracy has been a major factor in rousing th national cooperation. We're glad to pass along a fe suggestions, such as, *"No foreign dictators. America dictators are good enough for us!"* or *"Keep America concentration camps ringed with AMERICAN barbed wire!"*

Other and probably better ideas will occur to readi ers. Just tear off the top of one cyclotron and send in with your suggestion. You may win a big prize.

Truman Doctrine Once Removed

Princess Catherine, sister of King Paul of Greece is getting married to a British officer. The Gree Parliament voted her a dowry amounting to $40,000

Salt of the Earth

The All-India Christian Conference held at Bom bay in January expressed "strong dissatisfaction with the proposed exclusion of Indian Christians from full combatant rank in the Indian infantry, cavalry and artillery . . . and asked the Interim Governmen to remove "this discrimination."

Non-Violence

Our favorite story of the year so far is of the 16 year-old clerk in a Massachusetts five-and-ten cen store confronted by a holdup man. Ordered to hand over the money in the cash register, she shook he head and said, "I can't do it."

"Why can't you? It's not yours."

"That's just the reason I can't give it to you," th girl said, and walked away.

The man stood with his mouth open for a moment and then walked rapidly out.

Straws in a Foolish Wind

According to Capt. B. A. Northrup, writing in *Air Trails and Science Frontiers,* there is probably an international race now on to reach the moon and establish a military base there. Such a base would dominate the world, says he.

* * *

Gen. George C. Kenney says that after "billions" have been spent in research on the guided missile, actual production of the first one will cost a "mere $7,000,000." In quantity they will cost only $270,000 each.

* * *

Turkey, where we are proposing to spend $150,000,000 bolstering up democracy, on April 22 suspended two important opposition newspapers. This brought the total of suspended publications to eleven.

* * *

There is a candy bar named "Prl-har-bar," and on the wrapper is lettered above the name the word "Remember."

Must Pacifism Be Passive? Is Political Action Inherently Wrong?

Pacifism and Politics

A REPLY TO FELIX GREENE

By WALTER GEORGE MUELDER*

IN "POLITICS AND PASSIVISM" Felix Greene raises a question of pacifist principles. His special concern is that reconciliation cannot be achieved or pacifism realized within a political framework, for politics is conflict. He is opposed to political action on principle because a political "solution" to any problem invariably contains the seeds of future conflict. The whole essay raises a number of important issues in my mind: Is pacifism in principle passivism? If love is our ultimate weapon what is its relation to action and inaction? Is the appeal to politics simply due to pacifism's being on the defensive? Is politics a weapon the use of which is intrinsically contrary to the essential nature of reconciliation? If one opposes evil is he contradicting Jesus' saying that we should not resist evil, but overcome evil with good? If one opposes evil is he always drawn into its power and unable to overcome it? Or is this problem falsely stated due to a confusion of principle and strategy? What are the positive grounds of pacifist political action? In this brief article I cannot adequately handle all of these issues, but shall focus attention on some of the more basic ones.

At the outset I wish to express agreement with a number of Felix Greene's statements or the clear implication of them. Stating them may help in the clarification of the problem and our respective points of view. (1) Political activism is in danger of losing sight of spiritual being. (2) Intention plus insight is better than intention alone. (3) The relatively good can never be defended by means which are intrinsically false. (4) There are intrinsically false means. (5) Social reform, to the extent that it is achieved by political expedients, cannot be entirely dissociated from the struggle for power. (6) The solution of the conflict between capitalism and communism cannot be found within either communism or capitalism. (7) One task of pacifism is to provide insight into our human problems of a quality higher than that offered by the contending political forces.

The Roots of Pacifism

Pacifism grows from a deep spiritual root. It is an affirmation of divinely immanent power. The religious adjustment to God and the affirmation of love as the law of life is the mother of all pacifist expression. Any art, science, vocation, economic, or political action which is cut off from the divine root vitiates true pacifism and adds to the secular deterioration of modern culture. Therefore activism is in constant danger of adding to the world's hurt, for it tempts the activist to forsake his true source and to serve only this present age. On the other hand, the passivist, by refusing to express God's *agape* in the economic and political realms, may add to the world's hurt through irresponsibility.

My chief criticisms of Greene's position are: (1) it makes a principle out of what is at best a corrective point of view; (2) by holding to a fallacious anthropology, it unsuccessfully attempts to avoid compromise (implication in more and more evil); (3) it misunderstands the basic nature of politics and political action; (4) since its passivism is all roots and no fruits, it is ultimately not an ethic of love, but of communal irresponsibility.

A Corrective, Not a Principle

As a corrective for mere activism, Greene's essay is spiritually refreshing. It calls us back to the roots of the spiritual life, to the inner well-springs of enthusiasm and hope, to the source of faith and personal power. Nevertheless, it makes a principle out of what, as it stands, is a corrective. A false dilemma is set up: either passivism or activism. I am reminded of the first essay in Arthur Koestler's *The Yogi and the Commissar*. He portrays a sociological spectroscope through which one sees spread out under the diffraction grating the rainbow-colored spectrum of all possible human attitudes to life. "On one end of the spectrum, obviously on the infra-red end, we would see the Commissar. The Commissar believes in Change from Without. He believes that all the pests of humanity . . . can and will be cured by Revolution, that is, by a radical reorganization of the system of production and distribution of goods; that this end justifies the use of all means, including violence, ruse, treachery and poison; that logical reasoning is an unfailing compass . . . and that whosoever believes in anything else is an escapist."

On the other end of the spectrum sits the Yogi. "He has no objection to calling the universe a clockwork, but he thinks that it could be called, with about the same amount of truth, a music-box or a fishpond. He believes that the End is unpredictable and that the Means alone count. He rejects violence under any circumstances. . . . He believes that nothing can be improved by exterior organization and everything by the individual effort from within; and that whosoever believes in anything else is an escapist. . . . He believes that each individual is alone, but attached to the all-one by an invisible umbilical cord; that his creative forces, his goodness, trueness and usefulness can alone be nourished by the sap which reaches him through this cord; and that his only task through life

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is to avoid any action, emotion or thought that might lead to a breaking of the cord."

I do not ascribe the extreme Yogi stereotype to Greene. The Yogi symbolizes the exclusively vertical, the Commissar the exclusively horizontal view. Greene's view tends, however, toward the Yogi end of the spectrum, toward an exclusively vertical position. I believe that in an effective Christianity the vertical and the horizontal dimensions must be a continuum. Man is confronted with the "idea of the holy," with a Wholly Other, a divine Person, who is as overpoweringly present in nature and history as in our stillest moments. Pacifists need training for the life of the spirit in order to be aware of the Holy One. On the other hand, the experience of God provides an ethical imperative and a power of cohesion in group life which no merely secular attitude or natural grouping or expedient alliance can provide. Christian religious experience senses the divine bond which holds mankind together. The power of religious cohesion resides ultimately in that ethical Person who has made of one blood all nations of men. Therefore, our training in the life of the spirit must be sociological as well as contemplative, political as well as mystical.

Leads to Quietism

It follows that Greene's pacifism, being antipolitical, is based on an inadequate doctrine of human nature. I see no way for his passivism logically to avoid quietism and individualism, at least for all practical purposes. The attempt to achieve self-realization through passivist techniques is self-defeating. Man is more than contemplative privacy. He is also an active communitarian being; and all community involves at least a minimal political order. Men have real community in God and in social groups. The group is a reality; it is not a myth. One of the great responsibilities which Christianity imposes on us in this generation is the improvement of group life. We need to understand ourselves as we participate in varying social unities, including political ones. The political order is a mode of social being which will never be eliminated in human history. If men flee from the state to the church or cloister, the political order confronts them there, only in a different form. One of the tasks of pacifism is to help create a pacifist political order; for there will be no social peace in the larger community without some kind of political order.

The problem is to avoid the fallacious "either-or" and the facile "both-and" by a concrete personal communitarianism in the pacifist faith. Walter Rauschenbusch stated it in classical form: "Most Christians say: Wait until all men are converted, then a perfect social order will be possible. Most social reformers say: Wait until we have a perfect social order, then all men will be good. We say: Go at both simultaneously; neither is possible without the other. They all say: Wait! We say: Repent for the Kingdom of God is at hand."

Man is by nature (by the teleological law of self-realization) a political animal. This insight is indispensable. Felix Greene states that men have acted and are acting with good intentions in their political efforts, but without insight into the falsely beguiling way of politics. I have no doubt that this is true of much political activism. But it is not true that political action is in principle good intention lacking insight. Indeed, I suspect that a pacifist quest to act out of love and righteousness, but without political responsibility, may be a good intention which lacks communitarian insight. For there can be, practically speaking, no objective order of justice in society without political order. But political order is other than mere power politics. Indeed, the political order, now so corrupted by power politics, must be regained and redeemed along pacifist lines.

We must think of man neither as an isolated entity nor as by nature opposed to the state. He may, of course, be opposed to a particular organization of political power, but that is not the central issue under consideration. The state is a great social emergent which serves to bring man to self-realization. Man must learn to obey the moral order which is made historically concrete through the institutions and laws of the state. To subordinate the private to the public good does not necessarily interfere with human dignity, for there is no rightful definition of public good which does not respect individual personality. Indeed, only through the subordination of the merely private to the objectively common can man fulfill his moral obligations as a person. Thereby he also expresses the teleology of the divine order which is immanent in his human nature and in his interdependence with others.

Not Necessarily "Power Politics"

The struggle for power through power politics is not the right way to achieve proper political participation on the part of the citizens. Power politics is the contradictory of right political power. By grounding the life of politics in expediency, instead of ethics, Greene is unable to distinguish justice from the power struggle. He seems to teach that politics necessarily roots in collective greed and fear and bears war as its inevitable fruit. The contrary proposition seems truer so far as basic principles are concerned, namely, that political order is the objectification of justice in man. A community cannot be loyal to its insights regarding ultimate principles without objectifying its moral intentions and insights in political institutions. Pacifists who believe in political order must participate in political processes. The type and quality of participation should be the only question for debate.

It must be granted that the operation of the present political orders is replete with compromise. In the forseeable future this situation will continue, but there is no overt or material expression of the spiritual life which is free of compromise. Felix Greene is quite right in saying that pacifism brings to the human situation insights from a higher frame of reference than political pressure and political expediency. But if these insights are so much higher that they inhibit all political participation, then we may suspect that the human race has been lost in the breadth of the spiritual (?) perspective, and the inclusive love has become humanly irrelevant and irresponsible.

VERA BRITTAIN'S

London Letter

SPRING, 1947

THIS LETTER INITIATES A QUARTERLY SERIES which FELLOWSHIP has asked me to write from London—or wherever I happen to be when it falls due. Normally I shall discuss literature, art, music and the drama rather than political and social events, but in the winter just past the main preoccupations of the British have not been cultural. Now that spring is here at last, and the almond blossom is out on Chelsea Embankment, we may view these preoccupations with less physical discomfort, and hence more mental detachment. Those of us who tried to retain our perspectives by remembering the still greater endurance demanded of the Germans and Austrians whom we defeated in war, at least brought a measure of philosophy to our acceptance of harsh experience.

Culture and the Cold

If American readers cannot understand why culture should decline when cold increases, they should attempt to write or read in a temperature only a few degrees warmer than the zero weather in the streets. They will find that chilblained fingers and frozen feet soon interfere with the operation of the half-numbed brain. While successive frost-patterns traced themselves on the inside panes of living-room windows, snow, ice, hurricanes and floods followed one another with unmitigated relentlessness. At Westminster an overburdened government sought to avert the total collapse of agriculture and industry.

After the wettest March known to Britain for ninety years, the National Farmers' Union issued what was probably the gravest statement ever made on British agriculture. They reported that some 1,370,000 sheep and lambs died in the snowdrifts, leaving many hill farmers deprived of everything in the worst food-production tragedy ever known to this still austerely rationed island. Thirty thousand cattle also perished in snows or floods, and further extensive losses occurred in small livestock. Nearly 100,000 acres of winter wheat and 100,000 tons of potatoes have been written off as a total loss. To repair these ravages in time to grow food for this year's harvest means a race with the clock which British farmers are determined to win.

In industry, each successive week since the severe fuel cuts diminished has disclosed the human cost of industrial paralysis. The thirty-two clothing coupons issued to adults in February for six months must now last till November. In the shoe-making trade, already unable to meet persistent heavy demands, millions of pairs of shoes have been lost to the public. A heavy reduction in fuel supplies has been imposed upon paper mills, which have responded by cutting orders from publishers by fifty per cent.

This means that not only the body but the mind of our nation must accept yet again a prolonged scarcity of all diets. Just when the book trade, starved by the wartime paper famine, was struggling to replenish, among other shortages, the textbooks for which the raising of the school-leaving age to fifteen involves an increased demand, it must face this fresh handicap. New writers, and the foreign authors whose international reputation is not yet established, will be the inevitable sufferers.

One sustaining force has been the practical sympathy of other English-speaking peoples, including those of the United States. I saw one press item which stated that, during our meteorological and economic blizzard, the Post Office handled twice the usual number of gift parcels from America and the Dominions.

Courage has indeed been a quality of the many "poor plain people" who went on foot with sacks to collect their meagre hundredweights of coal from the local depositories of fuel companies. Despite the gloomy prognostications of some sections of the American press, they do not believe that they or their country are "finished." They heard that pessimistic tale in 1940, and were no more convinced of it by falling snow than they had been by falling bombs.

In spite of zero temperatures, blocked railway lines, flooded roads and immobilized automobiles, projects for stimulating the mind were by no means entirely abandoned. Britain is not, like the United States, a land of lecture fans, but lecture organizations with limited memberships today boast long waiting-lists, and those which appeal to the public for support were able to count on some kind of audience even when the weather was at its worst.

The chief problem in recent months was that of transporting lecturers. I have travelled constantly through deep snowdrifts and eddying floods, and even (to Dublin) over angry seas. One day my train ran through the Great Ouse, pouring over the town of Bedford and across the railway line; on another I saw York Minster surrounded by water as though built in the middle of a lake.

Disaster Made Us Serious

Undoubtedly our disasters and the resultant problems have made us serious-minded. Plays dealing with unanswered social questions rival in popularity even the international ballet and the light revues. Two of the best-attended during the inclement weather were *Now Barabbas,* a realistic human drama of prison life by William Douglas Home, a young ex-officer who spent a year in prison for refusing to obey an order involving damage to civilians in front of Havre; and *No Room at the Inn,* a grim study of five child evacuees who murder their wicked foster mother. The American friend who saw it with me said it would not have run a week in New York, but here it has played to full houses for months.

Meanwhile the young demobilized men and women, varying in age from twenty to twenty-seven, are competing with boys and girls from school for places in our few universities. This attempt to put a gallon into a pint-pot is giving headaches to university authorities all over the country. My own son of nineteen, with years to spare compared with his slightly older contemporaries, has been tentatively offered a place in an Oxford college for October, 1948.

America's Jails—Filthy, Cruel, Breeders of Crime, Are Its

Backyard Buchenwalds

By CURTIS ZAHN*

AMERICANS SHOWED A GREAT CAPACITY for indignation while the wartime stories of concentration camps filtered into the news. It is unfortunate that some of this feeling cannot be directed to helping the thousands of American prisoners who continue to suffer right in our own backyards. They are the men and boys, girls and women in local jails. Few of them are there for murder. The majority are harmless, petty violators. Indeed, the average city or county jail inmate has not yet been judged "guilty" of any crime, but is only awaiting trial. Even so, a million Americans per year are subjected to mistreatment almost as humiliating, unjust, and horrible as any uncovered in enemy nations.

Bold charges? A motorist who served a sentence last year for reckless driving didn't think so. He said that inmates in his jail scoffed when they read accounts by returning U. S. prisoners. "So they had to eat rice! We had rice, too, but we were thankful! You get only two meals a day in jail. The other meal was sour cabbage." He had something to say about cramped, vile, living quarters, too. "These war prisoners griped because fifty of them lived in a small room. Our 'tank' contained ninety men. We weren't taken out and exercised. We never saw sunlight. Each cell was built for two persons. We had four in a cell and drew lots to see which two slept on the concrete. The toilet would overflow and . . ." He gritted his teeth. "I just wish some of those interned Americans could spend a night in the county jail."

(We) advocate such ways of dealing with offenders against society as shall transform the wrongdoer rather than inflict retributive punishment.

—From the FOR *Statement of Purpose.*

Evidence that local justice has failed to pace this nation's international humanism is overwhelming. Several hundred personal interviews and a good many signed statements, by both inmates and officials, have convinced the writer that life in that establishment, jokingly called the "clink" or "hoosegow," is not to be taken lightly. Indeed, veteran criminals declare unequivocally that the dreaded, silent walled institution, the state or Federal Penitentiary, is mild by comparison. Reports suggest that in virtually every U. S. city, from coast to coast, there are local dungeons where the clock stopped centuries ago. The taxpayers support them but few would do so if they were forced to sample their hospitality for an hour.

A minister who was arrested on a draft registration technicality said, "I was shoved into a dark, evil-smelling hole jammed with human wrecks. I almost vomited. I wanted to get out and tell the world to help these men. I couldn't believe that a situation like this had been going on in my own city all the time. Old men were whimpering. One man was doing something to a sixteen-year-old boy while others crowded around, watching and laughing. Everything you picked up had cockroaches on it. Everything was slimy and greasy. In a few days I was, too. You were sealed in, cut off! Several of the inmates were dangerously ill, and one of them passed out. They carried him away and we never saw him again. They talk about a war for justice. Well, here's something to go to war about!"

But war, itself, has been one of the chief excuses for today's disgraceful jail conditions. You are told by sheriffs and deputies that things weren't always this bad. Albeit, a good many of them stoically declare they aren't bad now. You are told that city jails have been crowded beyond capacity with rural migrants who went hog wild in the cities. It is argued that most police forces have been undermanned; that the better quality cops were drafted. It has been hinted that, in order to fight mushrooming delinquency and aid the war-effort, some cities encouraged a routine policy of rounding up everybody who wasn't working, as well as most anybody who might be out late at night celebrating. Statistics bear out the result: Jails swarmed with petty panhandlers, drifters, dreamers, servicemen and juveniles of both sexes. The chronic lawbreakers—burglars and murderers—enjoyed more freedom. They just didn't happen to sit around in bars or loaf in pool halls.

So much for local officials who explain away civic injustices with the lamented, "there's a war on." V-Day is passed. But will the peace years bring something better? Probably not, if Federal reports are any criteria. The cold fact is that reconversion will probably initiate more Americans into the brutal realities of jail routine than did the war years. Certainly, partial unemployment and a general feeling of freedom will result in arrests. A good percentage of tomorrow's drifting, unguided population will fall short of law-abiding activity. And servicemen? A Federal prison official told me a year ago that penitentiaries were being groomed and enlarged to take care of the potential flood of ex-soldiers.

New faces will find themselves in jail but they will see age-old conditions. As far back as 1939, in a pamphlet titled, "It's a Crime to Use the Jail," written by James V. Bennett, Director of the U. S. Bureau of Prisons, we read:

"Jails, as now constituted, are anachronisms in our

* Journalist; FOR Member.

social order. . . . Most of them are totally unfit for human habitation." Mr. Bennett also stated: "Upwards of 750,000 to 1,000,000 men and women 'do time' each year in jails. More than three thousand of these institutions, ranging in size from a concrete jug hardly as large as the family garage to an institution housing three thousand inmates, have haphazardly risen about the country." He pointed out that sadistic jailers, dangerous firetraps, and unhealthy living conditions are just a few of their faults.

In 1942, the American Prison Association observed that the jail is "the oxcart on the highway, a barrier to the progress of everyone of us." An illuminative statement is added: "We know that a large proportion of the million persons entering jails each year are committed, not so much because confinement is essential, but because jail represents the easiest, most convenient, and quickest way to dispose of them. We know, too, that in certain areas, the fact has been proven that through careful planning, speedy trials, and individual handling of offenders, the number of persons committed to jails can be cut, not by just 20 or 30 per cent, but by as much as 70 or 80 per cent."

In the Congressional Record, March 14, 1945, Congressman Louis C. Rabaut discusses fatal beatings, general corruption and overall negligence in county jails. He warns: "Bureau of Prisons records disclose that more than *75 per cent of 3,156 jails inspected by inspectors of the Bureau in connection with their use for Federal prisoners have been disapproved,* because of their lack of the bare essentials for decent housing and treatment of prisoners, and because of conditions indescribably revolting and conducive to the spread of crime. The use of about ten per cent more is limited to emergency cases."

When the Red Cross reported ill treatment of U. S. prisoners in Germany, an Army lieutenant exclaimed: "They ought to examine the place I stayed awhile back." (He had been in a county jail.) "After all, war is war! When you go into an enemy country and start killing people you don't expect them to be friendly. But the people in this jail were American citizens who hadn't done any killing."

Most Not Convicted

This is an understatement. The majority of persons in city and county jails, as previously noted, have not been convicted of *any* crime. They have only been *charged.* Guilty or innocent, the victim, unless he can raise bond money, must rot in idleness until crowded court calendars are cleaned up and a trial date can be set. The guilty ones, curiously enough, are shipped to walled institutions where conditions are infinitely better. No one is saying prison should be worse; it couldn't be! But jail should, if anything, be better. It must be better! If it is to be merely a temporary detention place, we must make certain it doesn't leave permanent scars.

Here are a few statements about jail conditions, taken at random. Names of the inmates are withheld, but the locales of the jails are given, in the hope that supporting taxpayers will demand changes:

Wayne County Jail, Michigan: "The quarters were filthy, the food unworthy of the name. The administration was corrupt. I had no mattress cover, sheet or pillow; no spoon or cup to eat with. When I left, I was covered with bedbug bites."

Jersey City, N. J.: "Food was foul, sanitation fair. No library; guards' attitude, 'It's just a job.' Recreation? We were allowed out of the cell block two hours a week for work."

Bedbugs and Cockroaches

Sacramento, Calif.: "It was next to impossible to keep bedbugs or cockroaches out of everything. Two meals a day (this is standard) consisting of rotten oatmeal, gruel, and bread. The big meal was kraut and weiners once a week, or stew."

Santa Rosa, Calif.: "This was better than Sacramento, probably because it was a smaller jail and there was less graft. Food was nauseating though."

Providence, R. I.: "Accommodations were terrible! Guards were brutish and ignorant. Food was lousy, greasy. Sanitation was terrible!"

Cook County Jail, Chicago: "It seems like a remnant of pre-Bastille days. No sunshine is admitted. Guards are surly and hostile. Recreation consists of cards, checkers and reading, but books are of the Bre'r Rabbit and Dead-Eye Dick Dalton types. One toilet accommodated forty men. At night, we were locked in a tiny cell where we could ring for the guard to open the door for lavatory purposes—provided the guard was on hand to hear the bell."

San Diego, Calif. County Jail: "Nothing to do all day long except gamble. All reading matter, except one daily newspaper, was barred because of 'fire hazards.' There was a library full of murder mysteries but no inmate could use it. Only trusties had that privilege."

Other reports are similar. Denver Jail: "Dirty and bad food." Wapello, Iowa: "No space for exercise." Corpus Christi, Texas: "Guards rough; food mainly beans and chili." King County Jail, Seattle: "About as inhuman a place as we have in so-called civilized society."

The laws state that minors are not to be put in jails with adult prisoners, but no one seems able to arrest the police for these violations. The excuse is that juvenile homes are crowded.

The logical results are solidified in the remarks of an old inmate: "I saw dozens of kids, 15 to 19, lounging around in our tank. They all smoked like chimneys. Some got marijuana from other prisoners. They listened by the hour to tall tales swapped back and forth by men in there for burglary, murder, rape. Kids that age feel pretty young when they get in with men. They try to imitate the toughest characters so they won't look green. One of them, in for stealing two gallons of gas, was absolutely embarrassed for such a small rap. The others looked down on him."

I interviewed one seventeen-year-old boy whose case history bodes ill for so-called "rehabilitation." His first offense was riding in an automobile which, unknown to him, was stolen. Both he and the driver were sent to jail, then to a juvenile detention home. He was to be held for just a month, but his conduct caused them to keep him longer. He ran away! That meant a still longer sentence, for he had actually committed an offense in running away. He went to jail again, and on to another detention home. This time, he tangled with a guard. He was still resentful. He knew he had committed no wrong when first

arrested. Now he was shipped to the reform school, now to a State mental institution. Finally, he was offered freedom if his parents would consent to his being sterilized. But by now he had become "bad." He had, for too long a time, been acquiring bitterness and antagonism. He was last seen in jail where veteran convicts nominated him for the "man they'd least like to meet in a dark alley."

How many laws are violated by jailers is not to be known. Censorship is rigid. Inmates who have tried to describe inside conditions to persons on the outside have not fared so well. Privileges are suspended—and in jail, nearly everything is a "privilege." Even edible food and blankets are privileges. Letters are privileges. Cigarettes are privileges. In most jails the inmates are *"privileged"* to buy commissary. The fact that virtually all inmates lose weight suggests the value of this privilege. But some foods brought twice as much as the OPA ceiling prices allowed. I asked one inmate how the officials could do this. "That's what I wanted to know. I told somebody I was going to ask the turnkey about it. Everybody jumped me. They warned me to shut up because the guards would stop commissary entirely if we got smart."

"Justice," Prison Style

Indeed, even the two meals per day are suspended for overt acts. A man awaiting trial for an alimony case reports that he asked a guard why they had received no breakfast. "You know why," the guard told him. "Somebody in your tank got funny and talked over the telephone system. We don't know which one of you it was, but if we punish everybody in the tank, then we know the guilty fellow was punished too!" Logical? His reasoning would be just as sensible if the police were permitted to starve everybody in the city because they couldn't apprehend the burglar who robbed the bank.

There are, of course, no "rights" in jail; but some of the inmates victimized by this particular incident vowed to balance the debt when they got out.

General charges by virtually all sociologists proclaim that the local jail is a budding crime school. The Osborne society, the National Probation Association, the American Prison Association and dozens of other groups including the U. S. Bureau of Prisons itself see eye to eye on the need for immediate changes. Their reasons are not necessarily altruistic or idealistic; it's good, practical business to see that convicts emerge better citizens, not worse, than they were when arrested.

"A Conservative is one who doesn't think anything should be done for the first time."—Denver FOR Newsletter.

"Brotherhood is not so wild a dream as those who profit by postponing it pretend."—Norman Corwin.

Note on the July Issue

The July issue of FELLOWSHIP will be a special thirty-two page summer number. Please remember that FELLOWSHIP is not published in August. We resume publication with the September issue.

. . . Everlasting Tribute

WALLACE HAMILTON

THE HONOR ROLL STANDS at the center of town, near the bank, the church, the post office. The Roll is made up of three broad panels with an inscription along the top. The inscription reads: IN EVERLASTING TRIBUTE TO OUR MEN AND WOMEN WHO SERVED IN THE ARMED FORCES DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR. Below the inscription are names, in alphabetical order, column after stiff column—and scattered stars.

The Honor Roll needs a coat of paint. The gilt lettering of the inscription is flaking off. The B in TRIBUTE is almost illegible, and the R in EVERLASTING is gone completely. The ranks of the names below are uneven, some bright and new, others weather-beaten. The gold stars don't shine any more.

Around the white panels, the grass is tufted. In the space where the flower-bed used to be, the grass isn't growing so well. The hedges which set the Honor Roll apart from Main Street need clipping.

Someone just recently tried to buy the lot where the Honor Roll stands. It's a good lot, right in the center of town. It would do well for another bank. (Business is expanding.) The Honor Roll could have been moved down the street.

But there was definite opposition to selling the lot. After all, the tribute was everlasting, and it ought to stay in one place, at least until some kind of permanent monument could be built. There is considerable feeling, too, that the Honor Roll ought to be painted and the whole place spruced up. One of the Lodges had a petition about it on the agenda at its last meeting, but the men didn't get around to it. They got all tied up with another resolution—something about Russia. Labor costs are high right now, anyway.

During the war, of course, people paid a lot of attention to the Honor Roll. They liked to see their son's name—right up there in public—or their brother's name, or their husband's. They were all part of One Big Effort. Put a war bond poster near by, and a recruiting poster. People soon got the point. The Honor Roll was good for the morale, and useful.

But the boys are back, now—most of them. Nobody pays much attention to the Honor Roll any more, except a few people. It's part of the landscape, like the bronze statue of a doughboy put up after World War I, the cannon after the Spanish War, the marble column after the Civil War. There wasn't any monument after the Revolutionary War because the town wasn't settled then.

It is part of the landscape, now. A lot of new problems, threats, and isms have to be dealt with. There may even be a new Honor Roll. It will have to be bigger, a lot bigger in fact. There'll have to be room for the names of everyone in town. A real everlasting tribute to the American Community, R. I. P.

On the Other Hand

COMMENT BY

A. J. MUSTE

. . . A. J. M. to Professor Horton

On February 20, 1947 I wrote to Professor Walter Marshall Horton, the well-known professor of theology at Oberlin, saying that I had gained the impression in a talk I had with Georgia Harkness that there were one or two of the non-pacifist members of the so-called Calhoun Commission, which had prepared the study on Atomic Warfare and the Christian Faith, who now took the position that the use of obliteration bombing and of the atomic bomb could not under any circumstances be justified and that Dr. Horton was one of these.

. . . Professor Horton to A. J. M.

The impression you got from Georgia Harkness is quite correct. I do take the position that obliteration bombing and the use of the atomic bomb are under all circumstances unjustifiable.

With the repudiation of these weapons goes the repudiation of "total war," which is war by all means of destruction now available. Is it unrealistic to expect war to be conducted with self-restraint, when the issue is closely joined?

While the recent war leads one to this conclusion on account of the vast technical increase in destructiveness, it also makes clear, on the moral side, that there are political trends abroad in our world, of the pattern called "totalitarian," that are so inimical to God's rule and man's good that Christians are bound to oppose them even unto death.

Ideally, this should be done by completely non-violent means. Actually, the likelihood of this being done on a world scale, in the time allotted, is practically nil. The problem that remains, therefore, is what attitude Christians should take towards the limited use of military means, short of obliteration bombing, in disturbed areas of the world where disorder of the sort that leads to general war seems to be spreading.

. . . A. J. M. to Professor Horton

It seems to me that the chances that any future war would not be subject to the same criticisms from the Christian point of view as are obliteration and atomic bombing, are so remote that the only possible course for Christian leaders and the Christian church now is to take the position that war must be renounced once for all. I think you are right in the suggestion that there is "urgent need that the methods of non-violent warfare be experimentally perfected and extended." But it seems to me that if violent war were definitely renounced, the need for non-violent resistance would very seldom, if ever, arise.

It seems to me also that no government is going to explore seriously the means of non-violent resistance until it has definitely given up dependence upon violent warfare.

The other question you raise has to do with the attitude that Christians should take "towards the limited use of military means short of obliteration bombing, in disturbed areas of the world." It seems to me that there is no real chance of ruling out atomic war if we try to retain this so-called limited use of military means. If war remains in the picture at all, nations will not limit themselves to certain types of weapons. There will always be the irresistible urge to make sure that a given nation is a little better equipped than its adversary. Furthermore, the "limited use of military means" by certain nations in "disturbed areas" is part of a total pattern which at the present time, for example, pits Russia and the United States against each other. Therefore these limited means lead inevitably to the use of unlimited means.

The other possible use of the so-called limited means is to suppress popular movements and revolutions; why should Christian thinkers run the risk of continuing to condone and help to open the way to atomic war and obliteration bombing, by giving direct or indirect approval to use of limited military means for the suppression of social change or even revolution?

. . . Professor Horton to A. J. M.

I do not see my way clear to the kind of all-out reliance on friendly gestures which you describe in your letter. There are dangerous and evil tendencies in the world, like those that crucified Christ, and we are not going to be able to persuade our nation to take the path of crucifixion.

But whatever may happen, it is always going to be wrong to obliterate whole masses of population with bombs, and you may quote me to that effect.

. . . A. J. M. to Professor Horton

It seems to me that nothing can possibly matter as much as that Christian leaders and churches, and above all the World Council of Churches, should come to grips with the question whether they will or will not condone or give any kind of blessing or voluntary support to war in the atomic age.

It is true that there are "dangerous and evil tendencies in the world, like those that crucified Christ." It seems to me that it is an essential and important part of Christian teaching that Christ—and precisely in the crucifixion—taught us the way to overcome evil. And his way was clearly not that of the sword, not to mention the atomic bomb.

And obviously "we are not going to be able to persuade our nation to take the path of crucifixion" when even Christian leaders and churches will not take that path. But should they not take it? What else can they do if the choice is between that and participating in atomic war, as it obviously now is? And if Christian leaders and churches were now to take this path, is it so certain that war-weary multitudes would not respond? What right have we to say that they would not answer the call when it has never been sounded?

News from the Peace Front

Bus Trip Members Meet Jim Crow; Twelve Arrests Made

Twelve arrests for violation of Jim Crow laws marked the course of the interracial Journey of Reconciliation through the upper South in April, and demonstrated that bus and train companies are reluctant to accept the Supreme Court (Morgan) decision outlawing segregation in interstate travel.

The sixteen participants in the Journey, which was jointly sponsored by the FOR and CORE (Congress on Racial Equality), were evenly divided between Negroes and whites. During the two-week period of April 9 to 23, they engaged in twenty-six "test" situations, out of which grew the twelve arrests.

The itinerary for the Journey was planned so that state lines would be crossed as often as possible, and the participants traveled on through tickets purchased in Washington from the Greyhound and National Trailways bus companies. The group traveled through Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee and Kentucky, and spoke before college, NAACP, and church groups, explaining what is happening on buses and trains in the light of the Morgan decision.

The men traveled in groups of three and four so that at least one person could observe reactions of passengers and bus drivers, as well as action by police in making arrests. Simultaneous tests were made on Greyhound and Trailways buses whenever possible. During several tests on trains, conductors ordered the men to move to Jim Crow cars, but no arrests were made when they refused. All arrests occurred aboard Trailways buses. Several Greyhound drivers asked the Negro members of the group to move to the rear, but did not press the issue when the participants explained that they could not move and that the Morgan Decision gave them the right to sit in unsegregated fashion in interstate travel.

The twelve arrests made on the ground that drivers had the right to seat passengers in any way they saw fit occurred at Petersburg, Amherst and Culpeper, Va., and at Durham, Chapel Hill, and Asheville, N. C. At Durham the three men arrested were released without charge and a false arrest suit has been instituted. At Asheville two men were sentenced to the maximum of thirty days under the North Carolina Jim Crow law.

The only act of hostility occurred at Chapel Hill, N. C., where cab drivers tried to mob four men arrested for breaking Jim Crow rulings. After the bond was placed, the Rev. Charles Jones, local Presbyterian minister and FOR member, drove the men to his home. Two cabs filled with angry taxi drivers pursued them. As the interracial group reached Jones' front porch, the taximen leaped out of their cars, threatening the group with sticks and rocks. When one of their number called them back, they decided to leave without injuring anyone. A few minutes later an anonymous voice on the telephone said, "Get those damn niggers out of town or we will burn your house down."

The police were notified of the threat and agreed to escort the group to Greensboro by way of Durham for an evening engagement.

At no time did bus or train passengers threaten hostility, although in a few instances they called bus drivers' attention to Negroes sitting in the front. Even when drivers called the police and buses were delayed, passengers remained neutral. At several points white woman passengers spoke up in defense of the group.

Local branches of the NAACP gave full legal aid. All twelve of the arrest cases will be appealed if they are not won in the local courts.

Governor Attacks FOR, Dragging Red Herring

Michigan FOR members were alarmed recently by Michigan's Gov. Kim Sigler's statement before the House Un-American Activities Committee in which he listed the FOR among Communist "front" groups active in their state.

A. J. Muste of the national FOR office has written to Gov. Sigler explaining the work of FOR, listing its backers, and asking for a copy of material warranting the charge that FOR is a Communist "front," so that "the evidence can either be refuted or admitted openly."

As of March 27 there were 995 violators of the Selective Service Act still in prison. Of this number, fourteen were COs and 139 were Jehovah's Witnesses. The number has increased since the amnesty board meetings in February when 800, including twelve COs, were reported still in confinement.

Annual Conference to be Held in Midwest

Meetings of the National FOR Conference will be held August 26-31 at the Lancaster, Ohio, Camp Meeting grounds.

Many prominent speakers have been invited to participate in forums and seminars. Among those who have already accepted are Harrop Freeman, Vernon Nash, Margueritte Harmon Bro, Maynard Kueger, E. R. Bowen, and A. J. Brumbaugh.

Nevin Sayre of the International FOR will report on his South American trip and A. J. Muste can be relied upon for at least some comments on his European trip and the Oslo conference.

June-July Schedule Brings Muriel Lester Eastward

Muriel Lester is starting on the last lap of her 'round the world journey of good will, meeting speaking engagements in many American cities and towns. The remainder of her schedule is as follows:

June 1, Pittsburgh, Pa.; June 2-3, Philadelphia, Pa.; June 4, New York, N. Y.; June 5, Boston, Mass.; June 8, Providence, R. I.; June 9, Baltimore, Md.; June 10, New York, N. Y.; June 11, Syracuse, N. Y.; June 12, Detroit, Mich.; June 13-16, Toronto, Canada; June 17, Buffalo, N. Y.; June 18, Washington, D. C.; June 19-20, Greensboro, N. C.; June 22-23, Silver Bay, N. Y.; June 24, Rochester, N. Y.; June 25, Flint, Mich.; June 26, Midland, Mich.; June 28, Detroit, Mich.; June 30, Kalamazoo, Mich.; July 2-8, Crystal Lake Conference; July 9, Leave New York for London, England.

British Laborites Demand New Government Policies

That rank-and-file members of the British Labor Party are demanding a return to Labor Party principles is evident from resolutions listed on the agenda for the annual Labor Party conference to be held at Margate at the end of May.

There are demands for severe reduction of the armed forces and recall of troops now abroad. Some of these requests are based on manpower shortages, others on anti-militarist thinking. Other resolutions criticize Bevin's foreign policy, particularly in relation to Palestine. They ask unlimited immigration into Palestine and that the mandate be turned over to the UN.

Still other resolutions press for equalization of wages, incomes and profits, as "consistent with Socialist thinking."

Read "PLANNING FOR WORLD PEACE," an interesting booklet concerning us—all to take part in it. Send fifty cents for your copy. Address Emil C. Hasenauer, Hayes Center, Neb.

Employment Opportunities

Ex-CPS or ex-prison men wanted by sales organization. Write to Jim Plaugher, 1836 Maynell, Modesto, Calif.

George Paine Leaves Boston Chairmanship

George Lyman Paine, retiring chairman of the Boston, Mass., FOR was honored at a dinner May 1 in Boston. Twenty liberal, church, and pacifist organizations with whom Mr. Paine has been associated sent delegates.

Originally an Episcopal minister, Mr. Paine "retired" fourteen years ago to serve as chairman for the Boston FOR. Active with pacifist groups in the area for the past twenty-six years, he has always been ready to help in increasing pacifist influence. He has run for office many times on the Socialist Party ticket.

A special fund of $1500 has been set aside as the George Lyman Paine Fund for the work of the Boston FOR.

Wilmer D. Wimer has been elected chairman to succeed Mr. Paine.

AFSC Celebrates Thirtieth Anniversary

The American Friends Service Committee celebrated its thirtieth anniversary on April 30, followed by a commemoration program at Haverford College, Pa., on May 10.

To date the AFSC has administered $60,000,000 in relief and rehabilitation to over six million persons in twenty-two countries. The Committee now has 597 workers here and abroad, thirty-two percent of whom are Friends. More than eighty-five percent of the AFSC's support comes from non-Quakers.

Under this year's $8,000,000 budget, programs for foreign relief, social and industrial work, and peace education will be carried out.

Indian Assembly Bans Untouchability

India's Constituent Assembly has outlawed restrictions against the Untouchables, members of India's lowest caste. In so doing it has given constitutional approval to Gandhi's long campaign for public recognition of the right of the Untouchables to the necessities of life.

The new provision reads: "Untouchability in any form is abolished and the imposition of any disability on that account shall be an offense."

Customary practice has been that Untouchables may not come into physical contact with caste Hindus. In some parts of India they have not been permitted to draw water from the wells or send their children to school.

Dr. B. R. Ambedkar, leader of the Scheduled or "Untouchable" Castes Federation, joined with Gandhi in the campaign, although he is not in agreement with Gandhi on other matters.

As if in answer to the outside world's question, "Can Moslems and Hindus settle their differences in India?" Mohandas K. Gandhi, spiritual leader of the Hindu-dominated Congress Party and Mohammed Ali Jinnah, president of the rival Moslem League, have issued a joint resolution asking India's Hindus and Moslems to refrain from violence.

"We deeply deplore recent acts of lawlessness and violence that have brought the utmost disgrace on the fair name of India and the greatest misery to innocent people, irrespective of who were the aggressors and who were victims.

"We denounce for all time the use of force to achieve political ends and we call upon all communities of India, to whatever persuasion they may belong, not only to refrain from all acts of violence and disorder; but also to avoid both in speech and writing any incitement to such acts."

Jottings

Robert Lowell, ex-prison CO, has been awarded the 1947 Pulitzer Prize for poetry for his *Lord Weary's Castle*, reviewed in this issue of FELLOWSHIP.

Another CO, Carleton Mabee, won the Pulitzer Prize for biography in 1944 for his *The American Leonardo: The Life of Samuel F. B. Morse.*

* * *

Wanted: Seeds. Hayes Beall has written from Germany thanking FOR for vegetable seeds sent early this year. Spring is late and there is still time to air-mail small seeds such as lettuce, onion, turnip, beet, carrot, spinach, kale and brussels sprout. Hayes Beall's address is Ed. and Rel. Affrs. Div. OMG, Hesse, APO 633, c/o Postmaster, N. Y., N. Y.

* * *

Seven International Service Seminars for high school and college students will be held this summer by the American Friends Service Committee. Faculty members will include T. Z. Koo, China; Quincy Wright, University of Chicago; Ira De A. Reid, New York University and Haverford College; Ralph F. Bunche, UN; George N. Schuster, Hunter College; and F. S. C. Northrup, Yale University. Write to AFSC, 20 S. 12th St., Philadelphia 7, Pa., for details and application blanks.

* * *

Approach, a new literary magazine, is now being published by a group of pacifists in Wallingford, Pa. Ruth Domino, Helen M. Brooks, Helen Fowler, J. H. McCandless, Dachine Rainer, Elsie Hines, Harper G. Brown, David Platt, Mildred Brown, Olive A. Johnson and Ray Smith are contributors to the first issue.

Freed but not exonerated, Herman Berman, CO whose case the Supreme Court recently refused to review, has been granted a five-year probation period in place of a three-year jail sentence.

It all happened because the judge read a report from the Veterans' Administration Neuro-Psychiatric Hospital where Berman worked, and decided not to keep him in jail.

* * *

Gerald Heard, pacifist mystic who is the author of weighty religious tomes, won the second annual short story contest sponsored by the Ellery Queen Mystery Magazine with "The President of the United States, Detective." Mr. Heard writes under the name of H. F. Heard.

* * *

Ernest R. Bromley, former FOR youth secretary, and pastor of the Stonewall, N. C., Methodist Church has been asked to resign by Bishop W. W. Peele of Richmond, Va. He in turn has requested that the North Carolina Methodist Conference grant the termination of his active ministry until the Methodist Church renounces its sanction, support, and participation in war.

Veterans groups in Stonewall have been campaigning against Bromley since his connection with groups opposing conscription became known. He has left his church and is living in New Bern, N. C.

Journey of Reconciliation
REPORT
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FOR Field Secretaries

Midwest: Emerson Schwenk, 740 Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.; *Northwest:* Mary Farquharson, 1406 East 40th Street, Seattle 5, Wash.; *Northern California:* Orval Etter, 2151 Vine Street, Berkeley 7, Cal.; *Southwest:* Glenn Smiley, 3302 S. Grand Ave., Los Angeles 7, Cal.

The Peacemakers' Bookshelf

War-Born Poets

Lord Weary's Castle, by Robert Lowell. Harcourt, Brace and Co., 1946. IX and 69 pp. $2.50.
The Horse of Summer, by Glen Coffield. C. D. Print, La Verne, 1946. Unpaged.

These two postwar poets have in common the subjective approach, the casual omission of clue, at once so quickening and so disconcerting to the intelligence of the average reader. They are alike also in their intellectual preoccupation with the things of the spirit, but in theme and method they are temperamentally opposed. The war has marked them both.

Robert Lowell, descendant of New England Puritan forebears, convert to the Roman Catholic faith, and winner of the 1947 Pulitzer Prize for Poetry for his *Lord Weary's Castle,* has given us a strange, turbulent, and distinguished collection of verse. A young intellectual's oblique reminiscence of wars in Italy, France, England, is here, and his conscious imitation of Rimbaud, Rilke, Valery, Sextus Propertius. But the memories that stay with us at the book's end are of New England: grim pictures from a family album, of Winslows, of Nantucket, Boston, Concord, recorded in passionate and ruthless words:

"Darkness has called to darkness,
and disgrace
Elbows about our windows
in this planned
Babel of Boston where
our money talks
And multiplies the darkness
of a land
Of preparation where the
walks . . ."

One is reminded of that other convert, the Englishman, who wrote:

"Generations have trod, have
trod, have trod,
And all is seared with trade,
bleared, smeared with toil;
And bears man's smudge, and
shares man's smell . . ."

If Robert Lowell stems from Gerard Manley Hopkins, the resemblance between the ex-CPS Glen Coffield and Emily Dickinson is even more obvious. *The Horse of Summer* (this whimsical and not too relevant title might have been Emily's own invention) is a collection of brief, fragmentary lyrics; delicate flashes of philosophic and metaphysical insight, modestly veiled in a disarming make-believe of simplicity, as in "The Amoeba":

"The amoeba has no eye,
But only hunger;
Perambulating for the why,
Of food, so tender!
It has no vision, but
Tremendous power to act;
Proceeds toward one end,
With a corporation's tact.
Maintain, expand . . . pursue
The one fixed end;
Evaluating? not anything!
One growth, one trend.

Despite the tendency to obscurity, perhaps wilful, which sometimes clouds their thought and expression, these poets have something to say, and are honestly trying to get it across to the reader. Each, in his separate mode, might well have written Coffield's poem, beginning:

"My heart yearns for a bell
To ring its understanding note."

FLORENCE CONVERSE

Soldier-Christian

Beyond This Darkness, Roger L. Shinn. Association Press, New York, 1946. 60 p. $1.00.

Roger Shinn left Union Seminary in 1941, joined the army as a private, served as an armored infantry company commander in the Battle of the Bulge, was captured and spent five months as a prisoner of war. Here is the personal account of a sensitive young Christian's response to the coercive terror of war.

Shinn's experience is turned to a fresh realization of the importance of the resurrection hope in dealing with any great historical crisis. The suffering of the innocent and faithful suggests an irrational creation from which many will turn in disillusionment. In genuine faith, however, the Christian ". . . does not count on God to keep him alive or to keep suffering away from him." Action choices which, fearing death, put pleasant survival first, will not be prophetic. Shinn notes, however, that "Sacrificing and suffering for a cause do not make the cause valid."

Shinn feels that although there is always the necessity for deciding "between the two sides in the conflict," there is also a second judgment, "the judgment of God against both sides in a conflict." He adds that "Only if we have a feeling of our own sinfulness can we understand how to deal with the guilt of our defeated foes."

Although Shinn is entirely grateful for the pacifist stand in the war, he does not discuss it as an alternative Christian choice. The pacifist will find himself in profound agreement with the deep affirmations about the importance of the resurrection faith in confronting evil. He will question, of course, whether or not it is necessary to participate in the gross slaughter of war in order to feel sufficient sinfulness to ". . . understand how to deal with the guilt of our defeated foes"; furthermore, the writer's effort to identify the Old Testament concept of the Suffering Servant with the sufferings of men of faith in battle, must be decisively challenged. The Suffering Servant portrayed both in Second Isaiah and on the Cross, suffered, but did not inflict suffering. The entire concept of redemption in history turns on this point.

SHELDON RAHN

Conflict, Illustrated

The Challenge of Hate, by A. R. Lerner and Herbert Poster. FFF Publishers, Inc. 1947. 96 pp. (large format). Paper, $1.00; Cloth, $2.50.

A dramatic attempt to arouse readers to the dangers in racial and religious conflict, profusely illustrated. When the authors plead for understanding and friendship between groups they are convincing, but FELLOWSHIP readers will not be impressed by their attempts to personalize hatred in individual "native fascists" and "pro-German" groups. The weakness of the book is implicit in the inclusion among organizations "combating anti-democratic tendencies" of Rex Stout's Society for the Prevention of World War III, as hate-disseminating an outfit as ever came down the pike. The book contains much valuable data, however, and photographs, concerning both outbreaks of race violence and outstanding achievements of minority groups in this country. A.H.

The April
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By Heinrich Hauser

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Pro and Con

A Bad Impression

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

I receive FELLOWSHIP from time to time, sometimes with a British stamp and sometimes with a United States stamp. I do not know who sends it to me, but many numbers are missing.

Your President's speech to Congress has made a bad impression in our country. I am afraid that he is making full use of your freedom in a wrong way, and that it will only bring another world war. There is a great work for FOR in the United States to bring fellowship between our two countries.

V. V. TCHERTKOFF
Moscow, USSR

Earned Citizenship

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

This is a plea for FOR to take the initiative—not the leadership—in a plan for universal training. It rests on the theory that each member of a democracy has a responsibility to the ideals of his country and for his nation's attitudes.

Could we create a truer democracy if we worked to earn our citizenship? Through such a revolutionary plan we could serve our country in ways that are publicly recognized and honored. No one would take away the vote from those who already have it, but we would try to overwhelm the unworthy with the worthy citizens.

We who strive to overcome evil by good are still eager to win peace. The Army offers inviting opportunities to those who would rule the world by force. Let us open channels of work for every American who would follow constructive ways of brotherhood.

Suppose FOR sent out a call to its members suggesting that wherever two or three could gather, they meet as a cell to seek guidance and inspiration. As soon as definite ideas were formed, they could call together representative members of the community, who would form a temporary organization to sponsor a rally and community survey. Such new town meetings would be a project of earned citizenship, and regular attendance would surely count toward meeting requirements for volunteer citizenship.

A program of civic responsibility has not been incorporated in most upper grade and high schools. Each community may want to outline a program with points and honors culminating at voting age with honors and insignia. Those graduating would then understand democracy in action as well as in theory.

A youth who has worked for his community all during his school years will not be apt to vote for a candidate just because his name appears on a party ticket. Those who grew up listening to the voice of the community each week, hearing from labor, farmers, cooperatives, merchant associations, schools, banks, foreign-born groups, and the DAR would understand the needs of the total community and would make better candidates as well as better voters.

If we acknowledge the high privilege of our citizenship and fit ourselves for it through study and service, there will grow up an ever increasing number of consciously dedicated Americans who will provide leaders for the days ahead.

ELOISE HOLLETT DAVIDSON
New York, N. Y.

A PAGE OF COMMENT BY READERS

Readers are invited to contribute to this page. Please keep letters brief, since space is severely limited.

Interracial School

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Mount Princeton Commonweal, a nonprofit, interracial, interfaith school for young people four years of age through high school, needs additional staff members. A right social viewpoint and love of children are of course essential. We raise as much of our food supply as possible and share with the students all the work of the place. Almost any skills, agricultural, academic, counseling, recreational, etc., are needed.

We have twenty-three students at present with more coming in as fast as we can take care of them. At present there are only three adults on the staff.

CHARLES AND DESSAMARY BLACK
Mount Princeton Commonweal
Nathrop, Colorado

Pacifists and Taxes

The Editors,
FELLOWSHIP:

Articles by pacifists on the payment of taxes without any exception so far as I know, have held that any attempt to tangle with the tax problem reduces pacifism to absurdity.

Discussions again and again come back to taxes. Non-pacifists have no more effective weapon against pacifists than the jibe that they pay taxes just like the rest. But my own imprisonment for non-payment of taxes carried its point so well that even the most illiterate persons in this area had no question as to why I did not pay.

ERNEST R. BROMLEY
New Bern, N. C.

Democracy Still Depends on You!

Have you sent copies of these anti-conscription leaflets to friends who are still on the fence about conscription (Universal Military Training)?

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India's Gandhi

Gandhi's protruding ears and receding chin, his ill-fitting glasses and bald head, make him a strange but beloved figure. The other day he was photographed leaning on Lady Mountbatten's shoulder as they entered a conference room. We never thought to see the day when the wife of the Viceroy of India would walk as an equal with this perpetual thorn in Britain's side.

Things are different now. Britain will quit India in July of next year. It is only right that after a non-violent campaign for independence lasting over thirty years, the conqueror and the soon-to-be-free should walk together.

Britain is pulling in her horns of empire for economic reasons, but were it not for the irresistible moral force of a people pleading, persuading, waiting, refusing to use violence, India would not be among the first lands to go free.

Gandhi is still full of energy. Last January he walked from village to village in East Bengal to restore harmony between Hindus and Moslems. He wished to demonstrate that Ahimsa or "love force" can work in the lives of people in a hate-infested country torn by conflict.

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By John S. Hoyland

Introduction by John Haynes Holmes

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